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ABSTRACT

Several factors indicate that there is a relationship between economic conditions and crime among black women. Crime statistics show that outside of the misdemeanors of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, black women tend to be arrested for larceny and prostitution, both economic crimes. The fact that black women are at the bottom of the economic ladder lends more support to the economic theory of crime causation. In spite of the attempts of some authors to explain black crime through the theory of aggression, statistics show that black female criminality is substantially different from black male criminality in that it is less violent. Studies also indicate that the victimization rate for black females is much less than the rate for black males, but is much greater than the rate for white females. The two most prominent areas of victimization are rape and spouse abuse. Several programs initiated or supported by black women (the Multi-Area Rape Crisis Council of Atlanta and the Coalition of Concerned Women of Chicago) demonstrate that crime prevention is not the exclusive domain of the police and that black women can serve as a potential resource for crime prevention programs. However, as long as black women are on the bottom rung of the economic ladder, are heads of households and are subjected to racial oppression, they will continue to commit economic crimes. (Author/WI)

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BLACK WOMEN, CRIME AND CRIME PREVENTION

paper presented at the

National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Jackson, Mississippi

by

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Commission for Racial Justice
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April, 1978

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BLACK WOMEN, CRIME AND CRIME PREVENTION

In recent years much debate and discussion has centered on the concept of crime prevention, nevertheless, there is no common consensus concerning its definition. Some definitions have suggested that crime prevention is "protective work with women and juveniles,"[1] while others have characterized it as police activities aimed at the elimination of people's desires to commit crime.[2] For purposes of this paper, a broader definition adapted from Inciardi and Siegal has been used:

> an attempt (1)to identify those institutional characteristics and processes most inclined to produce legitimate identities and predatory behaviors in people; (2)to restructure existing institutions or build new ones so that desirable features are enhanced; (3) to eliminate those features that tend to foster criminal behaviors and identities.[3]

Despite the discussion and debate, the notion of crime prevention has not, for the most part, been transformed from rhetoric to reality. Several major factors can be posited as explanations of why crime prevention has not become a reality. First, the crime prevention rhetoric had its beginning as a reaction to community groups' criticism of the police and LEAA. The rhetoric and piecemeal programs were meant to reduce criticisms, -- not to prevent crime -- and thereby, thwart any nonverbal reactions to the rising crime rates. Second, police administrators have not clearly defined crime prevention -- programs cannot be designed to solve undefined problems. Third, and most important, administrators have refused to effectively use the resources available in the communities most affected by crime: minority communities.

This paper specifically addresses the third factor above with emphasis on the black community as opposed to all minority communities.

Crime statistics consistently show an overrepresentation of blacks as victims, suspects, defendants and prisoners. Statistics also show a gross underrepresenta-

tion of blacks as judges, lawyers, police officers and prison officials. It is suggested that this racial imbalance between persons directly affected by the criminal justice system and those employed by the system may be a contributing factor to certain crimes and that the existence of this imbalance hampers meaningful crime prevention programs.

There are a number of compelling reasons why this paper will deal with black women as a special population. First, most of the available literature on blacks and crime focus on the black male or on blacks in general without sex distinctions. Second, black females form the majority population in the black community. Statistics show that in the age range from 25 to 64, black women outnumber black men 85 to 100. Third, when compared with white females, black females are disproportionately represented in crime statistics as victims and offenders. Fourth, black women have had a tradition of religious and community activism; therefore, they should be naturals for involvement in crime prevention programs.

The first section of this paper will be devoted to a discussion of black women and crime. A critical look at the treatment of black women in literature, a review of crime statistics and discussion of black women as crime victims with a focus on rape and spouse abuse will be given. The remainder of the paper will deal with crime prevention: reactions of black women to crime in their communities, programs and projects to address special problems and problems relating to crime prevention programs.

Black Women and Crime

The Literature

Prior to the 1970s there was little available literature on females and crime. The literature that was available tended to treat women as an inferior

class. Many works adhered to Freud's "penis envy" theory, asserting that women engage in criminal activities to make up for the fact that they are sexually inferior. Some scholars such as Lombrozo concluded that women did not engage in criminal activity to the same extent as men because they were not intelligent or aggressive.[4] The most recent studies have advanced beyond inferiority assertions, but for the most part, they, like the earlier studies, have ignored the black female.[5] Implicit in these studies is the assumption that black and white female criminality stems from the same causes.

One notable exception to the trend of ignoring black females has been Adler's Sisters in Crime[6]; however, Adler's analysis consists of some distortions of the facts. Adler postulates that criminal activity comes natural to black women. She writes

> Segregated in a world of poverty at the fringes of white prosperity, acculturated to a life style which favored physical aggression, and saddled with the familial responsibilities ordinarily assumed by white males her propensities and opportunities would naturally lead, when criminologic influences prevailed, to crimes against persons and property.[7]

Adler failed to define "criminologic influences" and explain why such a small number of black women are engaged in criminal activity if it comes so natural to them -- or why the types of crimes black females engaged in differed from those of black males. Adler returns to the "old school" of explaining female criminality in terms of aggression when she maintains that black female criminality has been brought on by the absence of males in the home and the treatment of black women as a "kind of black rather than a kind of woman." It is asserted by Adler that as the white female becomes more liberated -- like the black female -- she will become more involved in criminal activity; however, "she will not be limited to the blue-collar crimes of vice, assault, robbery, etc." She sees white women (who are potential criminals) in higher positions in society, thus ignoring the

class factor in explaining criminality.

The literature on black criminality was examined also to determine the treatment of black women. The studies were found to focus primarily on the black male, perhaps because he is the major figure in crime statistics.

Special attention was placed on books written by black males to ascertain whether they also were ignoring black women. Three recent books were examined: Blacks and Criminal Justice;[8] Crime and Its Impact on the Black Community[9]; and Black Crime: A Police View.[10] Blacks and Criminal Justice contained two articles dealing with women; neither article was based on original research and neither offered new theory or hypotheses. Crime and ... the Black Community contained several articles that addressed specific concerns of black women including articles on spouse abuse and crime prevention efforts by black women. Black Crime, upholding the traditional all-male police view, totally ignored black female concerns.

Statistics

Crime statistics on black females are as scarce as good literature on black females and crime. Most of the statistics are broken down by race - black, white, and other - and by sex - male, female - with no sex breakdowns within races. Most of the studies that have used sex and race have relied on prison statistics which do not yield much insight into the percentage of black females arrested compared to white females. National statistics on black female and white female arrestees need to be made available so that an analysis can be made of conviction trends between black and white female offenders.

FBI statistics are not broken down by sex within race categories, yet, they are useful to an exploration of some of the popular assumptions concerning women and crime. One assumption that has been popularized by the media and by Adler is

that women are turning to more violent crimes. FBI statistics do not support this assumption. During the period from 1967 to 1976 female arrests for property crimes increased by 147.1 percent, while the increase for violent crimes was only 92.9 percent.[11] Statistics for the period from 1972 to 1976 reveal the same trend -- a greater increase in property crimes (Table 1). The largest increases were found in the traditionally female categories of fraud, forgery and counterfeiting and driving under the influence.

Another assumption found in the literature is that female criminality is increasing at a greater rate than male criminality. This assumption is supported by FBI statistics which show a 14.8 percent increase in male arrests from 1967 to 1976 and 64.3 percent increase in female arrests for the same period. Some of the increase in female arrests may be accounted for by the greater willingness of police to arrest women, but some of it has to be due to more crimes being committed by women.

A review of one city's police reports - Atlanta - for the period 1970-1975 revealed that from 1970-1972 the city maintained sex distinctions within race categories but discontinued this practice in 1973. Table 2 gives a breakdown of selected offenses of black females in comparison to black males and white females. The table reveals that black males are about five times more likely to be arrested in Atlanta than black females, but black females were more likely to be arrested than white females.

Several differences between black and white female arrest tendencies are revealed by the statistics. Black females were most likely to be arrested for disorderly conduct, while white females were arrested for drunkenness. Many more black females were most often arrested for aggravated assault and prostitution than white females. Black females were less likely than white females to be arrested

Table 1

Arrest Trends, Females (selected offenses) (1972, 1976)

Offense	1972	1976	Percent Change
Murder & Nonnegligent Manslaughter	1,936	1,766	- 8.8
Robbery	3,875	5,801	+ 49.7
Aggravated Assault	13,768	19,297	+ 40.2
Burglary	10,685	17,068	+ 59.7
Larceny	148,893	236,099	+ 58.6
Violent crime *	19,579	26,864	+ 37.2
Property crime **	164,302	259,265	+ 57.8
Other Assaults	29,492	39,744	+ 34.8
Forgery & Counterfeiting	7,650	13,345	+ 74.4
Fraud	21,338	46,067	+ 115.9
Prostitution & Vice	22,568	32,714	+ 45.0
Narcotic Drug Laws	44,828	55,742	+ 24.3
Driving under the Influence	29,884	51,216	+ 71.4
Drunkenness	75,998	61,559	- 19.0
Disorderly Conduct	58,675	64,187	+ 9.4
Total	742,544	975,928	+ 31.4

Table 2

Arrests (selected offenses) in Atlanta, 1970, 1972)

Offense	1970 Black Female	1970 Black Male	1970 White Female	1972 Black Female	1972 Black Male	1972 White Female
Murder & Nonnegligent Manslaughter	40	143	7	45	148	5
Robbery	21	393	9	21	545	6
Aggravated Assault	244	664	18	288	710	17
Larceny	518	1,235	457	562	1,246	438
Other Assaults	134	739	84	221	974	64
Forgery & Counterfeiting	92	172	50	86	197	36
Fraud	26	43	25	24	40	12
Prostitution & Vice	287	51	46	591	113	223
Narcotics & Dangerous Drugs	164	597	298	405	1,516	500
Gambling	98	460	8	176	360	83
Driving under the Influence	84	2,736	318	139	3,222	308
Drunkenness	1,301	10,774	2,005	1,264	14,047	1,797
Disorderly Conduct	2,050	5,899	973	2,169	6,922	1,256
Liquor Laws	320	680	79	129	457	54
Total arrests	5,694	27,581	4,539	6,633	34,626	5,009

for drunk driving.

Statistics were not available on black female/white female/ black male convictions in Atlanta during the same period; therefore, we cannot analyze the differences between arrests and convictions by race and sex.

Female homicide statistics have probably been explored more than any other crime category. There has been particular interest in husband-wife homicide rates. Most of the studies have focused on the wife as victim; however, this has not always been the case in the black community. Mulvihill, using 17 selected cities, found that in 1967 only 43.5 percent of the victims of black husband-wife criminal homicides were females,[12] but the female was the most likely victim in aggravated assaults. These findings relate to two assumptions concerning husband-wife violence. First, black women will more readily strike back at an abusive husband than a white woman. Second, husbands are more likely to assault wives and cause bodily harm, but wives are more likely to kill abusive husbands after years of assault.[13]

The Mulvihill findings are similar to the statistics of the Atlanta Police Department for 1972. A greater number of black males were killed by black females than black females killed by black males.[14] However, more black males were arrested for aggravated assault on black females than black females charged with assault on black males. These statistics could be misleading because females are more likely to report assaults than males, and the police more likely to arrest males than females.

The lack of available statistics and studies on black female criminality can be accounted for in part by the small number of black females in the criminal justice area; however, it may also be due to the failure of those of us in the criminal justice area to address the problem.

Victimization

The victimization rate for black females is much less than the rate for black males, but it is much greater than the rate for white females. LEAA victimization surveys for the first half of 1973 found that black women had a victimization rate of 57.6 compared to 53.6 for white women.[15] When rates for predominantly black cities were examined, the disparity became even greater. For example, in 1974, 70 percent of the rape victims in Atlanta were black; and 17 percent of the homicide victims were black females compared to 6 percent white females.[16] Atlanta statistics also show that black females were victims in 27 percent of the aggravated assault cases; white females were victims in only 6 percent of the cases.

Two areas of victimization have become more prominent in the literature in recent years: rape and spouse abuse. In spite of the fact that black women tend to have a higher victimization rate than white women, these areas have attracted more white female attention than black female attention. Several factors may explain why rape has not been a major concern of black women. First, rape is a subject that sharply divides black females and males. Many black men argue either that a woman cannot be raped or that she invites rape by her dress, gestures or behavior. Some of the conflict between black males and females also stems from different definitions of what rape is. Second, the issue of the rape of black women has been clouded over by the issue of rape of white women by black men. In the South many black men were executed or lynched on false charges of rape by white women. In order to avoid aiding whites in their vendetta against black males, black females have either taken the male side or tried to ignore the issue of rape. Third, many states, especially the southern states, had very stiff penalties, including death, for rape convictions; therefore, in order to prevent the death or long term incarceration of more black men, many black women have kept silent on the

issue. Fourth, black women had no legal recourse for dealing with rape by white men. Even if a rape was reported, the black woman's complaint would fall on "deaf ears."

Despite the reasons why black women have not been concerned about rape, there are a number of compelling ones why they should be concerned. The most compelling reason is that the majority of rape victims are black females who are raped by black males. In 1973 Amir found that about 75 percent of his Philadelphia sample cases involved a black-on-black rape.[17] Similarly, statistics for Atlanta show that 62 percent of the rapes in 1972 were black-on-black.[18] Even in Mulvihill's study of 17 cities, the majority of rapes was also found to be black-on-black.[19]

Before the problem of the prevention of rape can be addressed, there needs to be some understanding of the causes of rape. Very little research has been devoted to a discussion of why so many black men rape black women. The research that is available commonly uses the themes of

> feelings of emasculation and powerlessness and masculinity equated with sexual conquests. Another interpretation of black on black rapes is the perception of the black man that it is safer to rape a black female and escape harsh punishment from the criminal justice system.[20]

Two black authors have offered somewhat different explanations. Alvin Poussaint asserts that blacks have adopted the ways of their former slave masters in their treatment of black women.[21] Staples argues that "rape should be viewed as both a sexual and political act because it is the operation of internal colonialism which maintains the barriers to normal channels of manhood for Black males."[22] He further argues that rape "is peculiar to capitalistic societies in that women are viewed as sexual property." There is no common agreement on "the cause(s)" of black-on-black rape, but the views of the two black authors do suggest new areas for research.

There are even fewer statistics and studies on spouse abuse than on rape. This crime is one of the most underreported of all crimes, additionally most police departments do not keep separate statistics on spouse abuse. Statistics that are available

have been compiled through a combination of police and social service agency records. These figures show that black women and lower income white women are the major victims. These figures may be somewhat misleading because lower income persons tend to avail themselves of public services more than middle class women who can afford private services. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that black women make up a sizable portion of the spouse abuse victims.[23]

The roots of wife-beating can be traced back to the early notions of women as property. Early colonial law "explicitly permitted wife-beating for correctional purposes."[24] Studies show that the roots of wife beating have evidently led to its institutionalization. A Harris poll of 1968 revealed that one-fifth of the respondents approved of slapping one's spouse. Twenty-five percent of the blacks and 20 percent of the whites approved of a husband slapping his wife. In the black community the beating of a spouse has been considered a right which prevents the interference of others who may observe the beating. Many black women have been known to remark that a beating is an expression of love or that they deserved the beating.

Staples has suggested disputes over money, jealousy or drunken behavior are reasons for "violent marital conflict."[25] Some, using the resource theory of violence to explain spouse abuse, have argued that lower class men try to make up for what they do not have in material resources by beating their wives, while still others have blamed the racism in the American system. It has also been suggested that violence "against other blacks is often a displacement of anger toward whites."[26]

> Marital violence among blacks is primarily related to the poverty, oppression and cultural values found in a colonial society. Blacks are not predisposed toward violence any more than other groups. But, in a society which dehumanizes them as well as economically exploits them, psychological controls are broken and violent rage against the most accessible and safest person ensures.[27]

Crime Prevention

At the outset we defined crime prevention as consisting of eliminating criminal features and restructuring institutions so as to produce legitimate identities

and desirable features. This definition assumes that crime has become institutionalized and often permeates the structures of society.

This broad definition of crime prevention has not been adopted by many people, especially police personnel who tend to view crime prevention in terms of security measures. Community dissatisfaction with police approaches to crime prevention have been documented by several studies. For example, a study of black Brooklyn residents showed that only 15.5 rated the police activities as good.[28] This study, however, showed that black males were more likely to rate police efforts as bad than black females. When respondents were asked what types of anti-crime efforts they engaged in, over 29 percent failed to respond. "It is assumed that no answer was given because the respondents do nothing or could not think of anything they do."[29] The Field Surveys also found that less than 29 percent of the respondents felt they could do something about crime and few had seriously thought of becoming involved in crime reduction efforts.[30]

The failure to broadly define crime prevention has been reflected in reactions to crime in minority communities. Most reactions have been in the form of individual actions as opposed to systemwide programs. One set of reactions, some of which fringe on the area of illegal activity, has traditionally been carried out by black females to protect themselves and their families from criminal elements in the community. For example, many women, especially in the South, have a habit of carrying a knife or a "piece" in their purses to protect themselves from crimes in the streets. Many older women carry their money in their bras so that in case a purse snatcher takes their purse, they will still have their money. Older women have also been known to sew money up in mattresses or hide money in other "inconspicious" places to lessen the "take" of any burglar or thief. In the area of spouse abuse prevention, black women have been known to use skillets, lamps, kitchen knives, chairs or anything accessible to hold off an assaulting husband. Other women have

resorted to hot grits or boiling water. In other words, black women have been involved in crime prevention whether they consciously realized it or it came naturally as a result of mama's or grandmama's training.

In recent years several black women have received national attention for efforts to deal with threats of crime or actual incidents. The most popularized case was of Joan Little, the black inmate who killed the jailer who she said tried to rape her. Blenda Gay, the wife of a professional football player, stabbed her husband with a kitchen knife after reportedly years of abuse. A Philadelphia mother stabbed a gang member who chased her son into her house. A Chicago mother shot her daughter's alleged rapist in the police station. Yet, all of these incidents were individual reactions to crime with very little accomplished beyond the particular incident.

Some women have started programs aimed at attacking a number of problems or one problem on a broad scale; however, white women have been more active in setting up these programs than black women. The best known, and perhaps the most comprehensive, program initiated by women is the Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade. The Crusade consists of programs designed to improve the criminal justice system and to promote diversion from the system. Projects carried out by the Crusade include court monitoring, school dropout prevention, improved street lighting, cleanup campaign, anti-shoplifting and property identification.

Several notable programs have been initiated by or have had the active involvement of black women. Two such programs will be discussed: Multi-Area Rape Crisis Council (MARCC) of Atlanta and Coalition of Concerned Women of Chicago.

MARCC was formed in 1974 as an independent nonprofit agency after an unsuccessful attempt to run a program out of the county hospital. The original purpose of MARCC was to provide counseling for rape victims and to develop and desseminate literature on rape prevention. MARCC's goal was eventually broadened to place the

the primary emphasis on community education to the general public with special attention given to rape prevention.

The founder of MARCC, a black woman, became interested in establishing a rape crisis program aimed at the black community after seeing the large number of black-on-black rapes. MARCC set up a number of workshops aimed at rape prevention. Women were given instructions in self-defense, and women and men were taught their responsibilities in reducing incidents of rape.

In spite of the fact that MARCC had the support of the city administration, the police department and the black community, this program died in 1977 for a lack of funds. The death of MARCC exemplifies one of the major problems of crime prevention programs in minority communities: a lack of funds.

The Coalition of Concerned Women was formed in 1974 after a group of black women became incensed about the murder of a school principal by a 12-year old and the brutal strangulation of a 12-year old girl. The Coalition's thrust revolves around (1)education to overcome citizen apathy and to increase participation and (2)reduction of hostility between police and the public.

Since its inception the Coalition has been instrumental in getting periodic dialogue started between community groups and the police. The Coalition has also worked with the Postal Service in setting up a surveillance unit made up of citizens and special units to prevent the theft of welfare and pension checks. The black daily newspaper, the Chicago Defender, has assisted in the campaign through editorials, articles, ads and cartoons urging people to join the "War on Crime."

The Coalition has been able to carry out its programs due to outside financial support and the implementation of low cost programs.

Both MARCC and the Coalition have addressed some areas of concern that had previously either been neglected or not given enough attention. Efforts such as

these show that crime prevention is not the exclusive domain of police officers and males. Black women serve as a valuable potential resource for a number of crime prevention programs, especially those involving juveniles, block watching, the school system and crimes against females.

Conclusion

There has been much discussion and debate back and forth concerning economic theories of crime causation. Many of the "mainstream" criminologists have sought to discredit any attempts to show a causal relationship between crime and economic conditions. I am suggesting that "mainstream" criminologists should look at black women as a population to test the economic theory of crime causation. Several factors would seem to indicate that there is a relationship between economic conditions and crime among black women. Crime statistics show that outside of the misdemeanors of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, black women tend to be arrested for larceny and prostitution - both economic crimes. If we couple this with the fact that black women are on the bottom of the economic ladder, we have more evidence. In spite of attempts by some authors to explain black crime through aggression theory, we would argue that this theory is not the major explanatory theory of black female criminality. Statistics show that black female criminality is substantially different from black male criminality - it is less violent.

This research has pointed out the need for more research and better statistics on female criminality. If meaningful crime prevention programs are going to be designed and implemented, we need to know more about the nature of the crimes committed, the causes of the crimes and the types of persons committimg crimes. There is also a need to seriously explore the relationship of race, sex and social class to types of crimes committed as well as to persons arrested for crime.

Returning to crime prevention, minority communities need to adopt a broader definition as suggested in this paper. When we talk of crime proposals, we need to speak of long and short range proposals - most of existing programs are short range. The police departments across this country have shown that they cannot effectively fight the "war on crime"; therefore, it is the responsibility of community residents to design programs that effectively address the problem. A number of communities and white women's groups have promoted vigilantism especially in catching rapists. We, however, are suggesting that vigilantism is a reactionary tactic - we need proactive tactics. Black communities must develop mechanisms to protect their residents from crimes by other blacks, whites, the police or other public officials.

The area of rape prevention is probably the most underdeveloped area of crime prevention in the black community. We have been actively involved in block watching, security patrols, operation identification and other general crime prevention, but as mentioned early, we have shied away from rape prevention. A number of short range proposals have been suggested by rape crisis workers and various authors. One unique method of running a rapist out of the community was developed by the Washington Rape Crisis Center. A leaflet bearing a sketch of an alleged rapist and the inscription, "wanted for rape" was circulated throughout the community. The victim did not have to go through the prosecution process, and the man moved out of the community. Brodsky has suggested two technological preventive devices: the impotence ray and dentata or vaginal teeth.[31] The impotence ray could be a small weapon, ring, pen or "phaser" that would temporarily leave the attacker impotent. The dentata or vaginal teeth, worn in the vagina, would lacerate the penis when inserted past it. Brodsky notes that the dentata is used in Asian countries. Other proposals include public education, women avoiding vulnerable circumstances, and changes in rape laws.

All of the aforementioned proposals may be valid in certain instances, yet, they do not comprehensively address the problem. Long range proposals must be developed to deal with the root cause of black-on-black rape and other crimes. We must seriously examine the hypotheses put forth by Staples. If black-on-black rape stems from the effect of "colonialism" on the black male mentality, we must begin to resocialize our black males. Feminists have suggested the elimination of sex roles in society, yet, studies show that there is less of a distinction in sex roles in black families than in white families. If the elimination of sex roles would reduce rape, there should be fewer black-on-black rapes. We would suggest long range socialization and education of black males to respect black females. Many young black males are brought up on a "steady diet" of anti-black female jokes from older black males, entertainers, especially comedians and the news media. Black males are socialized to the notion that black females are highly promiscuous, and if a female says no, she really means yes - she gets charged up by being taken. Black males (and many black females) are socialized to believe that a woman cannot be raped if she does not want to. All of these notions and beliefs must be destroyed before we can effectively address the issue of rape prevention.

The area of spouse abuse prevention is a more complex area than other crime. There are many people who believe that relationships between husbands and wives should not be regulated by law. The most popular short range solution to spouse abuse is battered spouse centers. Long range solutions would have to include reeducation and socialization of males and females to respect their spouses as well as themselves. Education and socialization would have to include the tearing down of the notion of a woman as a piece of property.

In the broad area of crime prevention as it relates to crimes being committed by women, short range solutions are so inadequate until we will not discuss them.

As long as black women are on the bottom rung of the economic ladder, are heads of households and are subjected to racial oppression in this society, they will continue to commit economic crimes. Black women are subjected to triple jeopardy - race, sex, poverty - which reduces their ability to legally excel in society. Therefore, long range solutions must be aimed at reducing and eliminating racism, sexism and classism.

Footnotes

[1]Bruce Smith, Police Systems in the United States (2nd ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 220.

[2]John P. Kenney, Police Administration (Springfield, Ill: Charles C. Thomas, 1972), 40.

[3]James A. Inciardi and Harvey A. Siegal (eds.), Crime: Emerging Issues (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), 104.

[4]Caesar Lombrozo, The Female Offender (trans.) (New York: Appleton, 1920).

[5]See Rita Simon, Women and Crime (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1975).

[6]Freda Adler, Sister in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975).

[7]Adler, 134.

[8]Charles E. Owens and Jimmy Bell, Blacks and Criminal Justice (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977).

[9]Lawrence E. Gary and Lee P. Brown (eds.), Crime and Its Impact on the Black Community (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, 1976).

[10]Herrington J. Bryce (ed.), Black Crime: A Police View (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1977).

[11]Uniform Crime Reports, 1976, p. 176.

[12]Tumin Mulvihill, Crimes of Violence (Washington, D.C.: , 1976), 298.

[13]See, for example, Marshall Honts, They Asked for Death (New York: Cowles, 1970); Bruno Cormier, "Psycho-Dynamics of Homicide Committed in a Marital Relationship", Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Society Therapy, Vol 8, No. 4 (1962), 187-194.

[14]Atlanta Police Department, Annual Report, 1972.

[15]U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Criminal Victimization in the United States, Volume 1, November, 1975, p. 17.

[16]Bureau of Police, Atlanta, Georgia, Annual Report.

[17]Monachem Amir, Patterns in Forcible Rape (Chicago: Chicago Press, 1971).

Footnotes continued

[18]Georgia Commission on the Status of Women, Rape and the Treatment of Rape Victims in Georgia, p. 3.

[19]Mulvihill, p. 275.

[20]Owens and Bell, p. 82.

[21] See Bernette Golden, "The Ugly Crime of Rape," Essence, Vol. 6 (June, 1975), 37.

[22]Robert Staples, "Race and Family Violence: The Internal Colonialism Perspective" in Cary and Brown, p. 89.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1976), p. 30.

[25]Staples, 90.

[26]See Lee Rainwater, Behind Ghetto Walls (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

[27]Staples, 91.

[28]Elsie L. Scott, "Black Attitudes Toward Crime and Crime Prevention" in Gary and Brown, p. 23.

[29]Ibid., p. 27.

[30]Donald Black and Albert Reiss, Jr. (eds.), Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Field Survey III (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

[31]Marcia J. Walker and Stanley L. Brodsky, Sexual Assault (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1976), pp. 1-7.